1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

Or, in the sphere of etiquette: men of equal rank greet each other by covering low (women go down on one knee) for half a minute or longer while exchanging the formulae of greeting and, if they are well acquainted, stretching out their hands several times in succession and lightly touching each other's fingers. A man of lower rank when meeting his social superior will bow very low or kneel down, and only if the difference of rank is slight or obviated by personal intimacy (as between a *bara* and his patron), will he venture to offer his hand. If he is on horseback, he will dismount; if he is wearing sandals, he will take them off, though it may be on the road, and put them beside him; if he enters the house of his social superior, he will keep close to the door, squatting there till he is summoned to come near. The man of higher rank will stand or sit still, or make a short perfunctory gesture of bowing, and hardly move his arm to meet the other man's hand. When sitting together in a group, the man of low rank always sits slightly behind the man of higher rank. In the presence of the *Etsu*, *Alkali*, the highest ranks, or royal princes, you may not rest your arms on the floor—this would be disrespectful: the proper posture is to squat cross-legged, the arms folded in your lap, and to bend forward a little so that it should not seem as if you were looking straight at your superior. The *Ndeji* and *Maiyaki* were the only men whom I have seen behave really freely in the presence of the king; all others, even the *Alkali* and the royal princes, acted in a conspicuously submissive and slightly constrained manner.

That one addresses one's superior always through a third person is a common feature of African etiquette. So is, I believe, the custom of pulling the sleeve or a cloth over one's hand when offering a gift to a person of superior rank. Of gifts as a symbol of Nupe class etiquette there is more to say. In Nupe (as in the whole of Northern Nigeria) kola-nuts are the commodity most universally used for gifts and presents. To announce your visit or to invite somebody's visit, to win the favour of another man or to express your appreciation of another man's services, you send a present of kola-nuts. Their quality and amount reflect precisely the social status of donor and receiver.

I have already mentioned the existence in Nupe of two kinds of kola-nuts, the cheap southern variety, and the expensive kola-nut from Laboži; the latter, as we have seen, could be obtained only by, or through, the *Etsu* himself—presents of Laboži kola-nuts were thus symbols of royal favour, and unobtainable by anyone who was not in one way or another connected with the court. When I attended the *Sallah* at the *Etsu*'s court in 1936, he had two bowls (teapots, as a matter of fact) full of kola-nuts in front of him, one filled with Laboži nuts and the other with the small cheaper kind. To watch him distribute the kola-nuts—the kind and amount as well as the gestures which accompanied the gifts—was to watch the rank system of Nupe come alive. He presented ten Laboži nuts through a servant to all the higher rank-holders, and five in the same manner to the less exalted officers of state. He then gave one especially big one with his own hands to the men of highest position—the *Ndeji*, *Maiyaki*, *Alkali* (and myself)—and threw one into the lap of favourites and friends whose rank called less for formality. Finally,

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
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COURT HOUSE IN BIDA

THE *ALKALI* OF MOKWA

[Facing p. 170]

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

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MAT-WEAVERS ON THEIR WAY HOME FROM THE FARM

294
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516

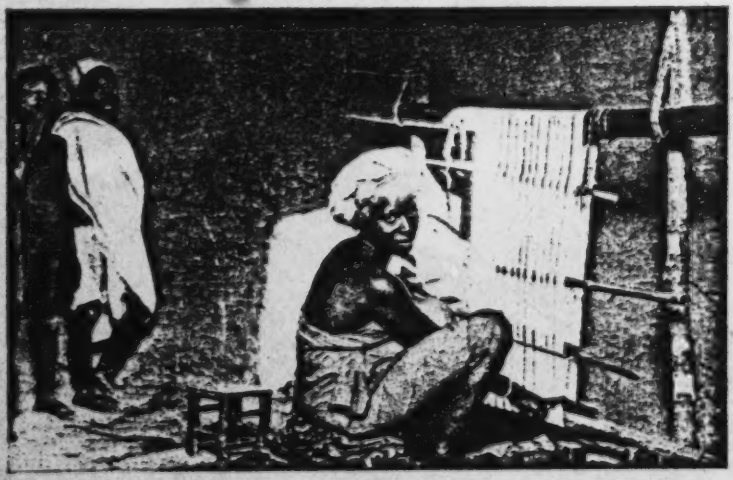
A MACHINE TAILOR

[facing p. 290]

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

323
415
291
516

AN OLD POTTER WOMAN



291
286
516
352

THE WOMEN'S LOOM

[facing p. 296]

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

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A BIDA MALLAM AND ONE OF HIS PUPILS

291
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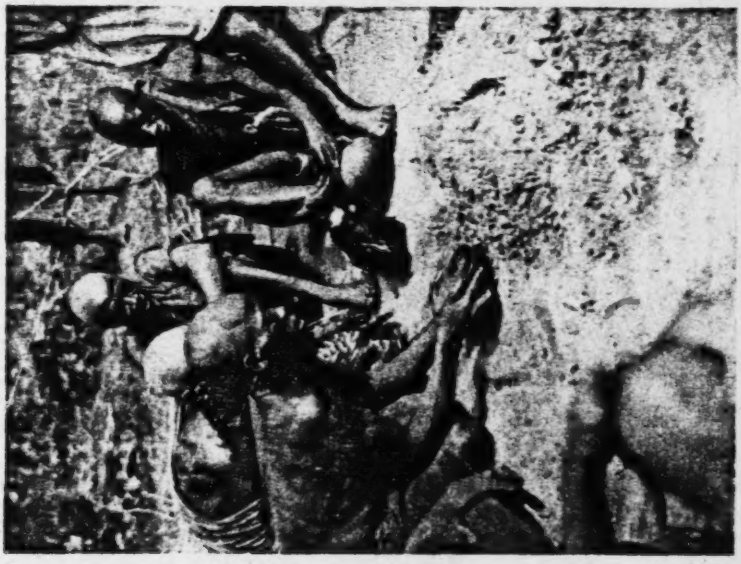
AN AGE-GRADE ASSOCIATION DANCE

[facing p. 382]

782
291
516
415

7. *Ndduma* sacrifice on the Niger

[142]



6. *Žiba* sacrifice

[p. 38(B)]

2: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1954
FF52 Nupe FF52

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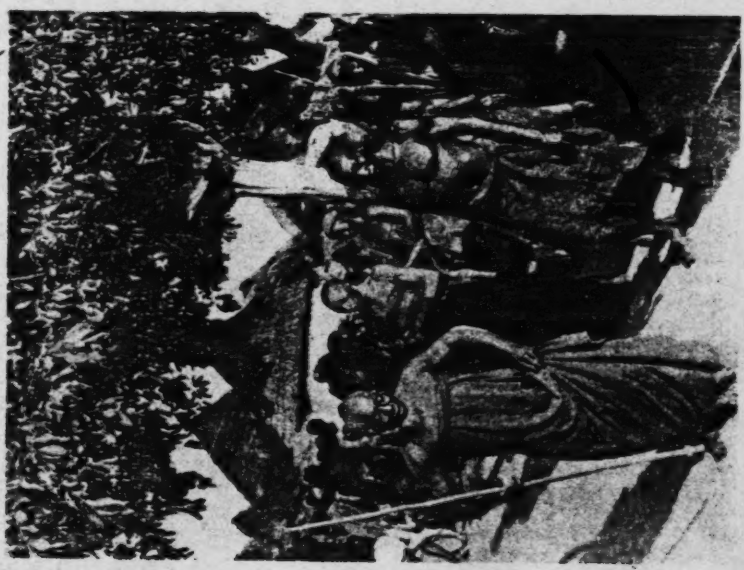
● 516

15. Vendor of medicines

×796
535



14. *Dzakó* dance

[p. 86(B)]

2: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1954
FF52 Nupe FF52

764

18. Levelling the ground over a new grave

759
415
516

19. The master of the *cigbeciĩ* in his ' dispensary'

[p. 118(B)]

2: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1954
FF52 Nupe FF52

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291
516

22. The *Sagi* of Kpatsuwa

516
535

23. *Gugu* dance of the Yoruba

[p. 134 (B)]

6: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1956
FF52 Nupe FF52
Bida

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438
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Bangles and bracelets of metal and glass, soup spoons of aluminium, all made in Bida

Glass-makers of Bida

6: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1956

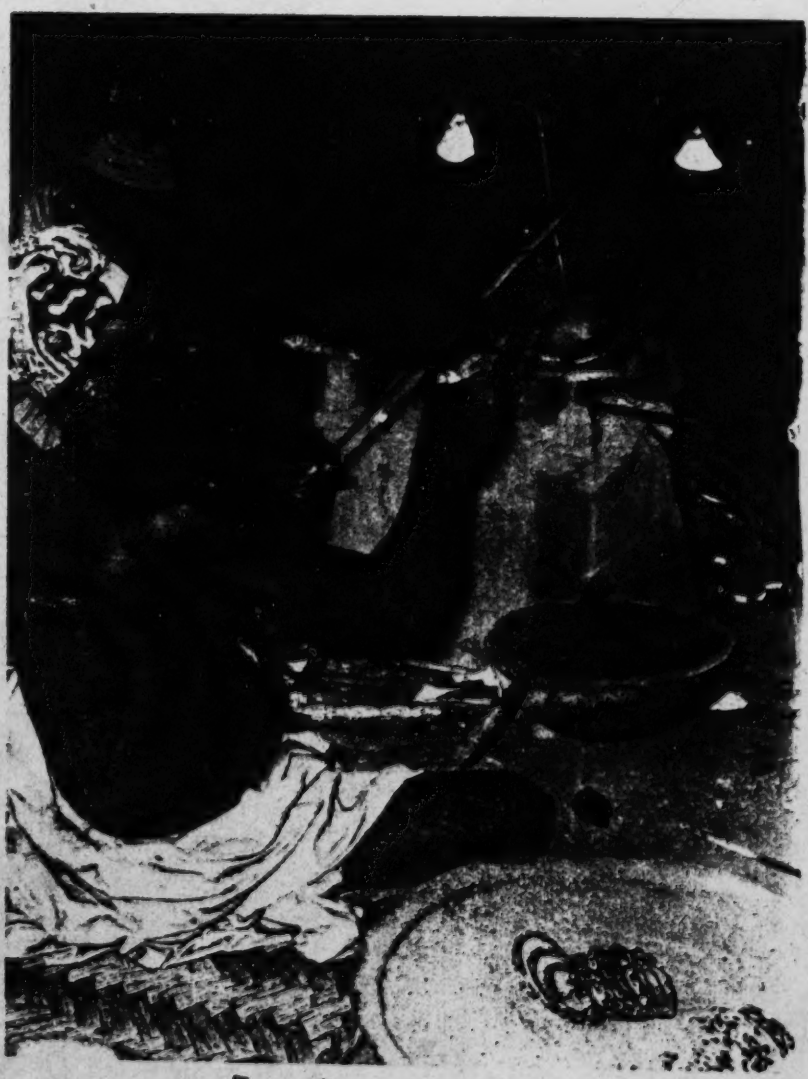
FF52 Nupe FF52

Bida

"King of the dancers"—
a Bida brass spinning toy

Making a glass bangle. The bellows man sits behind the central furnace

323
516
415
301



[p. 140]

6: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1956

FF52 Nupe FF52

Bida

Workers in brass and silver. The goat-skin bellows are similar to those of the glass-makers

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516
291
415

[p. 142]